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it; after a comparatively short time the hole will have become a well and, in some cases, even a small pond.

Now before I give a detailed account of the process of growing rice, I shall try to make clear a few things the knowledge of which is of paramount importance to every Isneg farmer.

This has to do with the *Pílăy* or *Ílăy*. Merely to say that they are the tutelary spirits of the palay would be putting it much too mildly, as will be seen presently. The *Pílăy* (in some places called *Ílăy*, in others known by both names) are spirits, some of them female, others male, and all of them young, in fact mere children, but they have a tremendous power either for good or for evil. Here are some names of *Pílăy*-spirits: *Aggăyén, Kano-nít, Darikokkó, Kópań, Rukkiná-, Lapindy, Dapindy, Ruppitá-, Alindodóăy*, etc. The latter is a female *Pílăy*, as she is said to carry palay on her head (*magtotón*), which is the way for women to carry loads; men carry theirs on their shoulders (*mańagtó*). These *Pílăy* will be mentioned over and over later on, but here I shall give their special characteristics, their habitat, a few general means for winning their favor, etc.

Although there are many of them, the *Pílăy* are never gregarious, and so it never happens that two of them are met together in one and the same spot: each of them keeps to his or her own place. Some of them protect the *kómăn*, others reside in granaries, and in every Isneg house a *Pílăy* takes his abode near the post of the house that is next to one of the four corners of the hearth, either at its base, just above the floor, or more especially on the *páza*, a shelf that is fixed over the hearth.

Pílăy (a term that also means "lame") is not the name of any of the ruling spirits, nevertheless he it is who guards your rice and punishes with lameness any stranger who dares touch a granary that does not belong to him, even though he does so without any malicious intent. Not only does *Pílăy* guard your palay, but he even causes it to increase, and, to accomplish this, he does not shrink from stealing rice for you from people who are not his votaries. One of these *Pílăy* rice thieves is called *Ruńád*. Whosoever is not able to walk, whosoever walks with difficulty, is supposed to have been struck by *Pílăy*, who punishes people not only for touching their neighbor's granary, but also for other acts that may be displeasing to him. Some of *Pílăy*'s victims are *madapindy*, one of their legs is shorter than the other; others are *pákań*, these can hardly walk and their pace is quite irregular; others again are *dapilán*, they crawl over the ground on their

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(*pamanît*) are brought into the house and cut up. This sacrifice guarantees a plentiful harvest for the next year. In some districts, however, it is not offered by everybody indiscriminately, but only by those who have found out, after the counting, that the number of their bundles falls short of the crop they have been used to up till now, and consequently that it will be far from sufficient to last them until the next harvest.

When the days of forced absence from the *sízăy* are over, the palay is transferred in triumph to the *álań* or granary. If the real *álań* cannot be made ready in time, or if it is too small to harbor the whole crop, a *sipí* must be prepared beforehand. The *sipí* is a little hut made of light materials (bamboo, grass, etc.), more or less box-shaped, raised on posts, and covered with a lean-to roof.

In some villages, at Tawit for instance, only the inmates of the owner's house, men and women, are allowed to make this transfer. In others, all neighbors, men and women, may be invited to join; but this happens only, of course, when the palay is very abundant.

When all carriers have reached the *sízăy*, the *dattó* of palay is demolished, the bundles (*ésiń*) being brought outside and put in rows, and everybody prepares his or her load. It should be noted in this connection that the prohibition with reference to trampling on or passing over the *dattó* has never been suspended.

At the same time the Isneg collect all the amulets (*mąmaldúń*) that have been placed at the *sízăy*, inside or outside, whether in the *aligmamán*-basket or over the *bańíbāń* and the *dattó*, and wrap them in a piece of cloth. This package will find its place in the granary together with the palay.

Detached grains and spikelets (*pannár* or *rannú*) [67] that remain in and under the *sízăy* and at the place outside the hut, where the palay has been counted and where the loads have been prepared, will be gathered later on, pounded, cooked and consumed by old men and women. If young people eat them, they grow old in no time. This restriction does not apply to the *rannú* of the granary.

Women place their load of palay in large baskets (*rańáy*, *rańáya* or *balŏ́-*: ordinary type, round rim, square bottom),[68] which they carry on their heads (*magtotón*). Men tie on equal number of bundles to

[67] The latter term is also applied to the detached grains and spikelets that are found in and under the granary.

[68] Also used for carrying tobacco, Indian corn, etc.

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each end a pole (*isíw*),[69] which they carry on their shoulders (*mañagtó*).

Before starting on their journey, the carriers insert a few *dáziń*-herbs in the straw of their load of palay, in order to keep them from all harm. This is not a vain precaution, as there is at least one of the numerous evil spirits in existence, namely *Nasigu*, who is especially fond of annoying people who carry rice from the *síxăy* to the *álań* (granary). If he finds them unprotected, he gives them a thrashing by means of a stick which he is always carrying.

As soon as they arrive at the place of the granary (*álań*), the women empty their baskets and the men untie their loads, after which all bundles are piled up under the granary (*magdaligpán*).

Before the Isneg store their palay in the granary (*magpintá-*), they attend to the following:

Besides a few objects that ultimately find their place in the granary, as the *pinudóń*, the amulets taken from the *síxăy*, etc., and that have been mentioned before, they put inside:

Amintakkán (from *pintá-*, "storing palay in the granary"): A low herb with very small leaves. It is placed on the floor of the granary.

Daraará-: A vine mentioned before among the amulets of the *aligmamán*-basket in the *síxăy*-hut.

Inóá: A kind of herb. It is tied around one of the posts, inside the granary.

Pannó (literally: fullness, filling), mentioned before among the amulets of uncut paddy. This amulet causes the granary to be filled with rice.

The *pamintakkán* (from *pintá-*, "storing palay in the granary"): The *pamintakkán* is a *battá-* (one fourth of an *ćsiń*) and the first of the rice just brought in that is introduced into the granary. It is provided with *takkág*-vines (schizaeaceous ferns, often mentioned before) and *tagaúrabón* (called *tagarabón* at Bayag), which is a kind of herb, some twelve inches tall, with very small leaves and white flowers, that grows in rocky places, along rivers and brooks, and prevents the rice from being consumed quickly. The *pamintakkán* is placed in one of the two corners of the granary that are farthest away from the door.

When the time has come for storing the palay in the granary, the owner, the man, climbs inside, and his wife, standing outside, hands

[69] A pole used for carrying loads between two persons is called *búlig*.

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urged on not only by their offspring, but also by their own appetite, frequently cut down (*magtaggád*) one or more canes, which, divided (*tagtaggán*) into sections (*ańtát*), are peeled by eager teeth and sucked by greedy mouths. To cut *unát* for the purpose of sucking out its juice is called *mambó*: this is never said of cutting something else or of cutting sugar cane for other purposes.

Sugar cane at which a wild cat (*múńaw*) has been gnawing, and hence called *minúńaw*, must not be sucked by married persons, especially when they have children. This taboo, however, does not extend to the other canes of the same plantation, nor to those that have been attacked by wild boars. A bunch (*búlig*) of bananas that has become *minúńaw* is tabooed in the same way, but, in this case, the whole bunch is tabooed, even though most of its fruits have escaped injury.

When the whole plantation has reached maturity (*taxunát*), the men go to the field and gather the crop (*manaxunát*), cutting the stalks one by one at the base, by means of a hatchet (*aliwá*).

All canes that are to be brought to the mill, are trimmed in such a way as to be all of the same length, and then bound into huge bundles. A pole (*alidugdúg*) is inserted into each bundle, to which it is tied in at least two places: this pole prevents the *unát* from moving to and fro and from protruding in all directions, when they are carried on the shoulders.

The aftermath of sugar cane (*pulpúl*) is left untouched until it has to make room for something else that will be planted in the same place.

5. BANANAS

Among the many varieties of bananas (*báxat*) that are cultivated by the Isneg, the following should be mentioned:

The *balâyań* or *sabá* (Musa sapientum, L., var. compressa, Blanco): Skin thick, yellow; flattish; eaten raw or cooked; stalk tall.

The *baráńan* (var. lacatan, Blanco): Skin thick, yellow; meat yellow, fragrant; one of the most esteemed bananas.

The *binańá* (var. cinerea, Blanco): Skin thin, yellow; very much esteemed; setting the teeth on edge when not entirely ripe.

The *dokkasí*: Fruits very close together, as if bound into a tight package.

The *xubáw*: Skin thin, yellow; small; not much esteemed.

The *xúyud* or *laxúyud* (var. suaveolens, Blanco): Skin thick, greenish; meat fragrant.